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SOME FACTS ABOUT THE ANTHRACITE COAL STRIKE—By Victor L. Berger.

The miserable condition of the anthracite mine workers has for several years engaged the attention of not only the workingmen, but of every well-meaning citizen of the United States. To Socialists especially it is of great interest to know the facts of the case as they are, and the following lines are a short study of the situation in the anthracite coal fields as it is and of how it originated—a study based upon official figures and without any exaggeration or prejudice. The present strike, which in reality is simply the continuation of the struggle of 1900—when the battle was postponed through the influence of Republican politicians—will more readily be understood by all our readers.

The "golden days" of the coal miners in America were in the sixties of the last century. During the war their wages were high, the miners making on the average five, six and eight dollars a day. At that time the miners were Americans, Irishmen, Welshmen and Germans, and they knew how to keep up their wages. Strikes and lockouts were rather frequent in those days also, and the tendency was towards cutting wages. At that time the anthracite mines of Western Pennsylvania were almost entirely in the hands of individual owners called "operators." The tendency of the railroads to become operators first became marked in 1871. Repeated strikes resulting in the withdrawal of the coal shipments, upon which the earnings of the companies chiefly depended, and the fear that other railroad companies might invade the territory, gave the pretext for the Reading railroad and other roads in that region in 1871 taking steps towards securing coal lands and operating mines. The first move of the roads was to raise freight charges, most of them doubling and one of them, the Reading, trebling the rates. These freight rates, as was intended, proved prohibitive, the operators who had resumed after the strike of 1871 at once closed their mines, not being able to ship their product, and in a short time many of them had sold out at what might be called forced sales. The tendency toward a close consolidation of interests on the side of the railroads began at that time and continued until the so-called Coal Trust was formed. The companies forming the trust now control approximately 75 per cent of the output of anthracite coal, over 60 per cent being controlled by the Morgan roads alone. As the sole carriers to tidewater (i. e., the sea), they easily regulate the production of the entire region, operating as they do in all the three anthracite coal fields of this country.

The railroad mine owning companies are the Philadelphia & Reading, Lehigh Valley, the Central of New Jersey, the Lackawanna, the Pennsylvania and the Erie Lines.

These companies not only fix the price of coal and wages of the miners, but are also able to determine to what extent coal shall go to tidewater or any other port. In this way the individual operators are prevented from being a factor in the market.

For years bitter wars have been waged by the individual operators against the railroads on account of the exorbitant freight rates. In 1888 the individual operators combined and tried to lay out a road from Scranton to New York. But nothing came of it, because it was impossible to survey it in such a manner as would reach a sufficient number of the coal fields belonging to the individual

Alderman Murphy, a good and consistent capitalist politician, has broken the seventh commandment of modern society, which reads: "Thou shalt not be covetous." He has been incautious enough to be found out, and the result is a new and different explanation daily of how he came into the possession of the sum of \$700, which he admits was given him by a contractor named Louis Dunkel. Dunkel failed to get the contract he was after and then asked the return of the money. Murphy's lawyer, John M. Clarke, said he had a right to keep the money, as it was given him for lobbying services, but it appears that there is a law against an alderman using his position for lobbying purposes, with a heavy penalty, and Murphy changed his defense. Clarke spoke too soon, he said to the papers, "I did not authorize him to say I got the money for services as a lobbyist. I will not state what my defense will be." Meantime all the crooks in the council are shaking in their boots for fear there may be further disclosures.

This transaction throws light on the way the city of Milwaukee is being run by the Rose push. The city hall stands in an old-time market place. It is today simply a big market place—a trading place for bootleg aldermen, street railway lobbyists employed by Rose's man Pfister, contractors and "business men"—and all under the nose of Pfister's man Rose. All this sort of thing goes on, thanks to the thoughtless votes of thoughtless men. The Social Democratic hopes to wake such men up to the sense of their responsibility as

things are pretty bad, eh? It costs big money to live these days. Wealth is concentrating into fewer and fewer hands and getting more and more powerful. No one can escape the octopus, blood-sucking arms of the trust monster which now controls the fuel and food supply and is fast getting control of all other necessities. This has been going on while the people were asleep and walking in their sleep to the polls to vote capitalist party ballots and make the grip of capitalism surer. The power of concentrated wealth is constantly growing. The development is not standing still. If it is now, to-morrow it will be worse. What are YOU doing to save the people from their impending slavery?

The Socialist that misses the chance to see the great Verestchagin paintings at the Milwaukee Exposition during the two weeks will have something to regret for the rest of his life. It was a decided stroke of enterprise on the part of the Exposition management to have Milwaukee included in the list of exhibition cities while the world-renowned canvases remained in this country. Many painters have employed their art to glorify war—to make it respectable and to cover up its horror. Not so Verestchagin. War to him is murder in gross, and he does not believe in making ends out of "Hell Roaring Jakes" or in covering up the brutality, the agony and the fiendish butchery of battle, with gaudy flags and uniforms and dignitaries, posturing officers. The Verestchagin paintings show the people what the German meant when he said that "war is Hell."

If you saw a fellow drowning you'd keep in and risk your life to save him, wouldn't you, now? But the workers are risking at the hands of capitalism and you won't even use your vote to save them, although there is no personal risk about it at all. How about it, eh?

A boy in the play-time of youth got a job in one of the outlying factories of Milwaukee the other day. In the afternoon, when the hours grew long, and the men had to go outside the windows looked out, and natural and inviting, he went out, and the foreman and said innocently, "You could I go out there and play a little?" He was refused, of course. But don't laugh, now. It is more pathetic than humorous.

The last job Bill had held good for some days before he was spied out and

operators. The railroads still have it in their own hands to virtually buy the coal of the individual operators at the mine at any price they may see fit to give.

Since J. Pierpont Morgan acquired control over the coal mining railroads, the entire production has been "regulated" by "allotment."

In 1901 the total production was fixed as 55,000,000 tons, which was distributed among the different parties as follows:

	Per Cent.	Tons.
Reading Company	32.20	17,710,000
Lehigh Valley	15.65	8,807,500
Lackawanna	13.35	7,342,500
New Jersey Central	12.70	6,985,000
Pennsylvania	10.40	6,270,000
Eric Lines	7.20	3,960,000
"Outsiders"	7.50	4,125,000

The "outsiders" have little or nothing to say about this arrangement, and have to accept the price the trust pays them for their coal. The trust sets a low price at the mines, making good thereof, and the trust may suffer as owner of coal mines out of the profit of the railroads "for transporting" the same. These railroads charge more for carrying a ton of hard coal one mile than is charged in Western Pennsylvania (the same state) for carrying a ton of soft coal four miles.

This "agreement" among the operators is known as "an understanding among gentlemen." By this "understanding" each colliery has "allotted" to it, monthly, a certain number of tons as its product for the ensuing month. This agreement has largely been violated in the past, but since J. Pierpont Morgan has control of the railroads the output is simply settled by the fact that the railroads will not furnish the independent operators any more ears than prescribed by the agreement. At the same time the sales-agents of the trust agree upon the "cirenciar" prices and notify the coal dealers all over the county of the same—the prices being subject to change at the will of the trust.

But there is even a worse phase to this railroad domination in the anthracite coal fields. The demand for hard coal has always been, year in and year out, less than could be supplied if all, or even only a majority of the collieries were in operation all the year around. But in order to keep a large surplus of miners on hand and thus cheapen labor, far more mines than are necessary are operated for only a short period of the year in order to supply the demand for coal.

The total production of all the anthracite mines now open, taking 250 days as the maximum number of producing days in the year, would be 80,000,000 tons. But in 1901 the total production was only 55,000,000 tons, the average number of working days being only 180. The competition among the railroad mine-owning companies was formerly so keen that none of them was willing to close down any one of their mines so long as there was enough profit to pay for running it for only half of the year, and since J. Pierpont Morgan has control of all of them, he finds it to his advantage to keep a larger force of laborers on hand, in order to keep down the wages.

While this seems like an enormous waste of both capital and labor, it is only such from the standpoint of the national economist, not the capitalist. The larger part of the coal mine property is fixed capital stock which does not lose in value by being idle, taxes being nominal. But the case is different with the miners. During the time when the mine laborers are out of employment there is no other occupation in the coal fields to which he can devote his energies so as

to increase his earnings. He must make enough during the days he does work to support himself and his family through the whole year, or starve.

The coal miner gets now—after the 10 per cent raise due to the strike of 1900, 60 cents per ton. We use the word ton in quotation marks, for the ton as figured for the miner weighs from 2800 to 3500 pounds. We will explain how this fraud originated—one fraud of the many to which the miners were subjected, because they were not organized. Formerly there was no sale for the smallest kind of coal—what is now called "pea," "hackwheat," "rice," and birdseye coal. This small coal was not figured and in order to get a ton of coal credited the miner had to furnish 2600 to 2700 pounds. It was then also customary to pay the men a so-called "dividend" at the end of each month, i. e., the operators would pay their miners a certain sum, if by actual sales it was proven that more tons of coal were sold than the miners had been given credit and wages for. But this paying of dividends soon stopped, although since then even the smallest kind of coal finds a ready market. But the miner not only has to furnish 2700 pounds of "clean coal," he is also entirely at the mercy of the "docking boss," who has absolute authority to determine how much refuse and how much clean coal there is in a car. The miner may work hard all day to find when he comes out of the shafts, that he has been docked half and sometimes two-thirds of the coal mined. This iniquity has been improved somewhat since the strike of 1900 when the miners secured the right to elect a "check" weighman, who is to see that the dockage is fair, but even then the real average wage per ton cannot be estimated higher than 50 cents.

The press organs of the coal lords print a scale of wages from time to time which is to prove that the miners get good wages—get from \$2 to \$3 a day. But they forget to state that the "miner" must pay his helper—the mine laborer—out of his own pocket, that he must furnish his own powder, oil and tools and keep them in good condition, that he is docked for the physician and often even for the church, that he often has to buy his necessities in company stores at exorbitant prices—and last, but not least, that he never works more than during two-thirds of the year.

According to the census, the anthracite miner did not average more than 204 days from 1890 to 1893, 100 days were about the average from 1894 to 1897. He worked 150 days in 1898, 180 days in 1899, and according to the report of the labor commissioner of Pennsylvania, 194 days in 1901, when the trust was preparing for the renewal of struggle with the workingmen. Taking \$30.00 as a fair average of the monthly earnings of a first-class anthracite miner, before the 10 per cent. increase after the strike of 1900, the cost of living for a family of five, as given to the writer by an intelligent miner whose reputation for truthfulness can be vouchsafed for, is as follows: Rent, \$4.00; shoes, \$1.00; clothing, \$5.00; household goods, \$2.00; doctor and medicines, \$1.50; church or priest, 50 cents; coal, \$1.50; food; insurance, \$1.00; total, \$16.00. This leaves \$14.00 for food for five during the month—a little over 3 cents for each of five persons for three meals a day. This was the earning of a full miner, but the helpers or mine laborer's average wages were only \$20.00 a month.

The strike of 1900—the only successful strike in years, brought an increase of wages of 10 per cent, but since then the price of living has gone up fully 20 per cent.

Victor L. Berger.

Pages from Rose's Record. No. 1.

WHAT DEMAGOGUE ROSE SAID HE DID.

Neenah, Wis., Sept. 20.—On Board Close Campaign Train.—Mayor Rose last night spoke for the first time on organized labor. He declared himself a friend of organized labor, and said that four great strikes had occurred in Milwaukee since he had become mayor and that he had seen that the rights of both the laboring man and the manufacturers were protected.—Daily News.

WHAT THE DEMAGOGUE REALLY DID.

In May, 1901, while the big strike of the machinists against the Nordberg Manufacturing Company and other large firms in Milwaukee was at its height, Mayor Rose appointed Jacob E. Friend, THE PRESIDENT OF THE NORDBERG COMPANY, a member of the Board of Police and Fire Commissioners! Mr. Friend is also an attorney AND LIVES AT THE HOTEL PFISTER.

—This was Rose's way of showing his feeling for organized labor.

letter returns from their daily drudgery. The Canadians are not half as boastful as we, yet their country offers better inducements to farmers than ours!

When millionaires babble about being trustees of wealth, they confess to a doubt as to their actual right to the wealth they have "amassed." That doubt is a good healthy one and is more in the air today than ever before. Tomorrow to be a millionaire will be prima facie evidence of theft!

Mayor Rose has thrown the reporters of the La Follette papers out of his campaign car. Pfister's paper is well represented, and will continue to make a specialty of seeing "dense throngs" where none are encountered.

"Keep the power of the government in the people," shouted Dave Rose at Menasha. Of course he had no reference to the time he sold out to the Milwaukee street railway company and gave them an extension of franchise in spite of the big mass meetings of protest that the people held.

At the meeting of the Milwaukee campaign committee last Sunday a first edition of 50,000 platform leaflets in English and German was ordered printed, also 50,000 coal trust leaflets, 16,000 to be in English and Polish and the balance in English and German. A leaflet on the old parties and the trusts was ordered written, to be gotten out in like amounts. Comrades Heath, Berger and Westphal were made a committee on speakers and Comrades Rooney, Melms, Seidel, Harbicht and Berger a committee on halls. One thousand leaflets in Italian were ordered printed: The committee will meet every Sunday at 10 o'clock until election.

With rapid steps the blacklisted man hurried his way to the railroad station.

We next see Bill on the streets of his old home. His friends, if any remained, would scarce have recognized him. Upon his features there was an ugly look that boded ill to someone, and in his hip pocket a loaded six-shooter was ready for action.

The superintendent turned deadly pale when Bill entered. He instinctively read his indictment in Bill's grim visage before a word was spoken.

"What can I do for you, Mr. —," tremblingly asked the pilloried official.

"Not a damned thing," replied Bill, in a strange, hoarse voice.

"You know what I'm here for," continued the victim of the blacklist, "and if you've got any prayers to offer before I make a lead mace of your carcass, you'd better begin it once."

While Bill spoke, the superintendent looked into the murderous pistol pointed at him by the desperate man, and an instant later his office was turned into a prayer meeting. Such piteous pleas were rarely heard from such coward lips.

Bill's heart was touched; he would give the craven assassin another chance.

Withdrawing the weapon and shoving it into his pocket, Bill looked the official straight in the eye and in a steady voice said: "You have beaten me out of five jobs and you are responsible for my wife and babies being homeless and hungry. You know that there is not a scratch upon my record as a railroad man, nor stain upon my character as a man. You have deliberately planned to torture and kill an innocent woman and two babies who depend upon my labor, and, by God, you deserve to die like the dog that you are. But I'm going to give you another chance for your life, mark me, just one. I'll refer to you as to my service record. If I lose that job—G—d— your black heart, you'll do your blacklisting in hell, not here, for I'll send you there as sure as my name's Bill."

The superintendent drew a long breath of relief when Bill turned on his heels and left him alone. He did not doubt Bill's word. It is hardly necessary to say that the blacklist was ended. Bill got the job and holds it to this day. Not a man on the road is more respected than he, especially by the officials.

Bill did not appeal to the courts. He took no chances on a brace game.

Bill and his two brakemen are now Socialists. The three hours I spent with those three men rolling over the Western mountains I shall remember always with interest and satisfaction.

Prof. Howerth of the Chicago University opened the fall extension lecture course at Plymouth Church, Milwaukee, last Monday night, before a large audience.

The body of his lecture was most acceptable, but when, in closing, he solemnly declared that Socialism would not abolish poverty and that one way to stop the Socialists present began to wonder whether they were awake or dreaming. And just before that he had approvingly quoted Charles Booth of London as saying that his investigation into the poverty of that world metropolis showed lack of employment as the cause, supplemented by sickness. To say then that a socialistic regulation of industry would not abolish poverty, seems passing strange. As a matter of fact, poverty is the direct result of the exploitation of the workers by the capitalist class. If each worker got his socially due share of the wealth his industry produces, who is it that will dare maintain that he would be a poor man!

Congressman Billy Mason has drafted a bill for presentation to Congress to "settle" the coal strike—in the interests of capital, of course!

His plan is for a government receivership while the strike is on, such as is done with the railroads when they have been exploited into bankruptcy by the greedy capitalist monkey-workers. Then when the trouble is over the mines will turn back to the capitalists together with the profits skimmed out of the mine workers and the consumers before the settlement is made. A fine scheme, of course. The people don't own the earth; it belongs to the capital as. Mason is a statesman—for capitalism.

We don't blame Roosevelt for preferring to talk about the tariff on his Western trip. Being a capitalist in the interests of plutocracy, anything that will throw dust in the eyes of the public is right in line.

While Dave Rose is railing at La Follette's game wardens, La Follette might realize by pointing to the present political activity of Rose's garbage inspectors.

We have a plutocratic campaign in Wisconsin this fall. Back of Rose is the millions or billions of Charles Pfister, and he is prepared to drench the state with it in order to get a man in the governor's chair who will favor the interests of the corporations he is in. Back of the sham reformer La Follette, is the Stephen's barrel. Stephen wants Stephen's seat in the United States senate, and is willing to spend freely of his millions or billions to get La Follette elected. The general is a professional good fellow and the lawyers and courts were at their wits' end to find ways to get him out of the law's clutches. He said he didn't know how the meat got in his grip and was found guilty and the fine suspended. On the same day a whole bunch of working people, arrested on petty misdemeanors, were made to feel the strong arm of the law, and no mercy shown. Oh, yes, all people are equal before the law!

We have one of the funniest things that ever happened. He started out with lots of insurance. He was about to do some rough-riding, but has already found it pretty raw-riding, especially as it may jeopardize future campaign contributions.

The capitalists control the government and the capitalists own the coal mines. This is why the government is looking

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If you are receiving this paper without having subscribed for it, we ask you to remember that it has been paid for by a friend.

The first step in the revolution of the working-class is to raise the proletariat to the position of democracy.—Karl Marx.

AS TO A NATIONAL CONVENTION.

In issuing its semi-annual report the St. Louis quorum of the national Socialist party takes occasion to complain of the existing state autonomy within the party organization and to urge that a national convention be held, so as to reorganize the party and put the control in the hands of the national headquarters. The national quorum sets up the claim that the present arrangement gives each state "a desire to till their own field" and "makes us appear as an army of truck farmers instead of the 'bonanza' farmers we might be"—seeming to forget that the American bonanza farms are bankrupt and a failure.

This proposal of the national quorum is one not to be lightly considered and dealt with. Let all the facts be taken into consideration. In about a year the Socialists of the country will have to hold a national convention, anyway, to put up national political candidates. To hold a convention in the meantime would be a criminal waste of money. If there is one thing the St. Louis quorum does not seem to realize, it is that the money expended in the Socialist movement comes from people who have to deny themselves in order to use. Such moneys should not be wasted on useless national conventions or in building up a speculator national headquarters.

In spite of the plight from national headquarters, the propaganda movement all over the country is today in better shape than ever before. The work in the several states is being carried on with great credit to the comrades in those localities. This cannot be denied. The growth of the party nationally is such as should please every sincere Socialist in the country. There are now more branches than there used to be individual members under the preceding Socialist parties, and it is due in large measure to the local activity of the states, who feel the responsibility that out present party organization puts upon them, and work better because of their better knowledge of state conditions. Compared to this, the desire of the national headquarters for more power is not at all worthy of consideration.

The present method of organization is the only rational one and the only one that will ever succeed nationally. The movement is now too large for the old methods. It has shaken off its swaddling clothes.

ANOTHER CAPITALISTIC TRAFFIC.

That capitalism makes merchandise of everything it can lay its vndal hands on goes without saying. Recently a congress was held in Paris to inquire into the world-wide traffic in women and the revelations have so stirred up certain circles that another is soon to be held at Frankfort-on-the-Main. The traffic in women for immoral purposes seems to be well organized and the number of victims is almost past believing. In this country the department stores, bottling works, tiuware factories, pulp mills and the like, with the insufficient wages paid, forces thousands of girls into prostitution. But the other countries are not lagging in the number of the unfortunate, as the following articles on the organized traffic shows:

Says the Frankfurter Zeitung: "It has its exchanges bureaus of distribution, agents and pimps. In the latter the quotations vary according to the country of origin. Only the Jewish article remains at a uniformly high price. Even into Russia, where the entrance of Jewish women is forbidden, the importation of Jewish maidens is extraordinarily great, for the agents of the commerce have found in Hamburg a clergyman to baptise the victims. Other ways and means are found to smuggle in the unfortunate. Italy serves the agents as a peculiarly available transit station."

The charge is made with circumstantiality that the Camorra of Naples the Italian "Tammam Hall," has furthered the traffic. CITIES IN THE UNITED STATES FORM IMPORTANT WAY STATIONS OF THE TRADE.

The Berlin Vossische Zeitung notes that certain half-barbarous lands refuse to co-operate in this work of humanity. Another German paper points out that of all the civilized countries, America alone was not represented at the recent conference in

Paris, adding: "America is a most important way station for the traffic in these white slaves. It has been repeatedly proved that traders in souls supply themselves with false passports in order by means of them to practice the most ingenious deceptions upon females whom they accompany to the New World."

Sooner or later the Socialists of America will have to give the subject of the military the most serious and patient attention. The American military system as at present arranged forms a powerful weapon in the hands of the capitalistic rulers of this land and a menace to the liberties of the people. However they may be oppressed and however just may be their efforts at revolt, there stands confronting them the frowning guns of this so-called citizen soldiery and behind them the power of command in the hands of the capitalistic interests in possession of the government. The present military system, the regulars and the guardsmen, are the outposts of the coming "man on horseback."

The Seattle Socialist prints a letter from National Secretary Greenbaum in which he charges that the state dues of Wisconsin members of the party are paid into the Wisconsin state headquarters three months in advance, but that the state headquarters withholds the money so that the state is always in arrears three months to the national headquarters. Without dwelling on the animus of the national officers' rushing round the country with such stories, it seems necessary for us to say this much: that the story is wholly and unequivocally false. Secretary Greenbaum owes the Wisconsin headquarters a retraction.

Mark the prediction, the day of the anti-immediate demands fellows will be brief. They will not long obstruct the scientific Socialist movement with their S. L. P. fight. The most they will ever be able to do, when things in the Social Democratic movement approach the norm, will be to draw together into a little sect and render themselves innocuous.

The cost of living is getting higher and the rate of wages lower. The Socialists have been predicting this sort of thing for years. Now you see that they were right.

NOTES BY THE WAY.

A Manchester Sunday School teacher, after relating to some children the story of Lazarus and Sapphira, asked them why God does not strike everybody dead who is like, when one of the least in the room quickly answered, "Because there wouldn't be anybody left."

Was and still, waste and stint—so runs the silly talk of "civilization's" motto. Too much here, too little there, and not an effort made to adjust the balance.—Dangle.

We must not hope, says Tolstoi, to bring up our children well so long as we ourselves live in artificial and abnormal surroundings. We cannot go on living wrongly, and yet educate them well. If the children see the parents living simply, and doing work that need for which is obvious, the group of people, and will not take pains to learn to do so. And if the parents are keenly alive to questions of general interest, this will excite the curiosity of the children also, and the latter will begin to think and to pick up knowledge almost instinctively. Sending children away to school, and letting them become fatigued from us just when their minds are forming, is a very bad way of shortening our duties.

Another week and the Union Secretaries' fund will have cleared the second hundred mark, or approached so near that the jump will have been accomplished almost before the paper gets to our readers. And yet it all depends on you. We are powerless in the matter—our function is to plus ways to make the conversion to Socialism of the toilers of this great land easier. The need is to find ways to make our money (which we have to deny ourselves in order to give) go as far as possible. Literature conquers. And no literature is so good as a live Socialist paper that reflects the spirit, the philosophy and the "go" and comradeship of the entire conquering movement. We are trying to do our part; see that you do the best that you can.

The Herald plans to do is to raise a fund large enough to send the paper for nearly a year to the most active and hustling member of each trade-union in the United States. As a rule, such member is usually the secretary.

We will put the Herald into the hands of these men if the comrades will sustain us. The plan is a worthy one.

There are fifteen thousand union secre-

taries in this country, and deducting

commercial mill, and there seems to be no limit to the length that the greed for gold, the mad scramble for wealth, will go. You fellows who talk about patching up the system are deluding yourselves with a false hope.—Pueblo Courier.

The growing international solidarity of labor was not illustrated by the actions of the South Wales Miners' Federation in vot-

ing to assist the striking miners of America in their present fight. In the strike of the British machinists a few years ago the British capitalists press fiercely demanded the strike for "paying into the hands of their employers."

The British contributions of foreign unions were made with the view of prolonging the strike and crippling British trade. But the claim did not deter the machinists from continuing the strike nor their friends abroad from rendering them assistance.

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Fallacy of Samuel Smiles-ism.

By ROBERT BLATCHFORD.

There are many who think that if all the workers were to give up drink, to work hard, to live sparingly, to save their earnings, and to avoid early marriage, their large families, they would all be happy and prosperous without Socialism.

And these persons believe that the bulk of the suffering and poverty of the poor is due to drink, to thriftlessness and to improvident marriage.

Now, I know that belief to be wrong. I know that if every working man and woman in America turned teetotaler tomorrow, if they all remained single, if they all worked like slaves, if they all worked for twelve hours a day, if they lived on oatmeal and water, and if they saved every cent they could spare, that she is an unfeeling and weary drudge through her best years, and is great deal worse off than they are today.

Totototism will not do, saving will not do, increased skill will not do, keeping single will not do. Nothing WILL do but SOCIALISM.

Of ten thousand mechanics one is steeper, more industrious and more skillful than the others. Therefore he will get work where the others cannot. But why? Because he is worth more as a workman. But don't you see that if all the others were as good as he, he would not be worth more?

Then you see that to tell a million men that they will get more work or more wages if they are cleverer, or sober, or more industrious, is as foolish as to tell the twenty men starting for a race that they can ALL win if they will all try.

You must know that as things now are, where all the work is in the gift of private employers, and where wages and prices are ruled by competition and where new inventions of machinery are continually throwing men out of work, and where farm laborers are always drifting to the towns, there are more men in need of work than work can be found for.

And those will be employed who are the cheapest. And those who can live at least can afford to work for least. And all the workers being sober and thrifty, they can all live on less than when many of them were wasteful and fond of drink.

Then, on the other hand, all the employers are competing for the trade, and so are all wanting cheap labor; and so are eager to lower wages.

Therefore, wages will come down, and the general thrift and steadiness of the workers will make them poorer.

And now we may come to the question of improvident marriage.

The idea seems to be that a man should not marry until he is "in a position to keep a wife." And it is a very common thing for employers and persons, and other well-to-do persons, to tell working men that they "have no right to bring children into the world until they are able to provide for them."

It is bad for men and women to marry too young. Firstly, because the body is not mature, and, secondly, because the mind is not settled.

Then it is very bad for a woman to have too many children, and not only is it bad for her health, but it destroys all the pleasure of her life, so that she is an unfeeling and weary drudge through her best years, and is great deal worse off than they are today.

These points being done with, we come to the main question. Of two poor workers, the one who is single is better off than the one who is married and has a large family. The married man with many children is poorer and has more anxiety and trouble than the single man. He is in a more dependent state than the single man. He is less able to change homes or to seek work. He is more subject to doctor bills. He is less able to save against bad times, and he often bears things and puts up with things which the single man would not.

And again, if you think it out, you will see that if all our men and women workers kept single the result would be that wages would fall, just as they would if all our workers were thrifty and sober, and for the same reason; because the workers could live on less.

It seems that a very large number of our working men and women in this rich, enlightened, and prosperous country cannot afford to have a wife or child. And it seems that many of them accept this state of things as natural and as unchangeable, and tamely give up all hope of love, in order to be able to make a living.

I cannot really understand a man telling his love, and his manhood, and all that he is, a coward or a slave about "Impudent Marriages," and all for permission to drudge at an unwelcome task, and to eat and sleep for a few lonely and dishonorable years in a loveless and childless world. There are times when it is better to die than live.

And so if the state of things in this country today make it possible for men and women to love and marry, then the state of things in this country today must be changed!

that labor unions rescued the men who do the world's work.

The injunction principle would again bind the hands of labor and make it absolutely dependent on the generosity of employers.

It is not for the law to say that men shall not join unions for their mutual benefit, or that they shall not endeavor to get others to join them, or that they shall not form unions or do anything else that is not in itself unlawful, and when the law is turned and bent to make these things criminal, to the end that some man or set of men may hire workmen cheaply, there is engendered a contempt for laws that may not always be conformed to the judge-made rulings.

The progress of labor has ever been on the wrecks of just such obstacles as these, and it is absurd to suppose that this progress can be halted now. The injunctions of Judge Jackson and Judge Keller will never become precedents. Whether they are sustained for the present or not, they will soon be overruled by the Court of Public Opinion, against the decisions of which no justice can stand in a free country.

Within a generation these injunctions will be as great curiosities in the history of the struggle for better conditions for laboring men as the old law referred to above that made it a crime to refuse to work for a small and arbitrarily set rate of wages.

The law is what the people make it, and the people of the United States will never be a party to the erection of such tyrannical and one-sided rulings as these. The law is what the people make it, and while they thus held him a prisoner in defiance of the law, they subjected him to the "sweat-box" process to force a confession from him, or pulling in that to entangle him in statements that might serve to weave a network of incriminating evidence about him. The first right of a prisoner is to be advised of the accusation against him and warned that he need not incriminate himself. If, after that, he makes a confession, it is his own affair. But until he has been so warned and has expressed a willingness to answer rights, his custodian has no more legal right to cross-examine him than he has to shoot him. Experience has proved that only by giving this immunity to all prisoners, guilty and innocent alike, can the innocent be protected from injury. Even in open court, no judge would dare question a prisoner without the prisoner's full consent, given after he had been advised of his rights.

It is to be hoped that the indignation at the present "sweat-box" now aroused in Chicago will not subside until it is voluntarily abandoned or some of the police who practice this species of crime are indicted and punished.—The Public.

The Responsible for the Law.

Let us turn our attention back to the subject of injunctions.

Judge Jackson by his injunction made it a punishable offense to ask a coal miner to join a labor union, and Judge Keller, another West Virginian jurist, issued injunctions forbidding the establishment of strike camps, which were established in connection with the purchase and distribution of food for the striking miners.

The law-breaking railroads, which mine coal illegally and in defiance of their charters, are to be congratulated on the presence on the bench of two such callous justices as these.

If they do not win the strike it will not be the fault of Judge Jackson and Judge Keller.

The splendid response of the union conference is the matter of strike benefits made it possible for the coal operators to carry out their heartless scheme of starving the strikers into abandoning their union, so this injunction, directed at the leaders of the National Executive Committee and others charged with the duty of providing supplies for the men who are out on strike, comes along in the very nick of time.

The encroachment on the liberty of the miners is greater with every example of this misuse of the power of the federal injunction.

There was a time in the history of the struggle between capital and its employees that it was a serious penal offense for a man to accept or demand more than a rate of wages so low that it seems incredible that workmen were able to live at all. It was no mere make-believe law either and was buttressed by another that made it punishable by imprisonment to return to work at the prevailing rate.

It was from this condition of slavery

"Dinner fast yourselves" in Scotch expression, meaning: "Do not overheat or worry yourself." We apply it to a certain kind of workmen who are not to be trusted.

"Dinner fast yourselves about Socialism."

Capital and property must not behave themselves that the laboring masses are not pushed to extremes. The rich sinner cannot expect that the priest is going to save him from the temporal consequences of his sins.

Taken the case of the coal barons, far instance. Their workingmen wanted about 10 cents more per ton for mining coal. The barons might have conceded this and added the 10 cents to the price per ton of coal so that our coal would sell for \$4.00 per ton. The coal barons cost fix the price arbitrarily, anyway. They sell the price at \$5.10 in Erie and \$6.75 in Chicago. Adding ten cents per ton would be easy. But the pride of the coal barons interfered. They would not be "dictated" to by the dust at their feet—their millions.

As a consequence there is now a prospect of 4,000,000 cold hearthstones with the winter weather coming on space. Seventy million

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lion people with their toes freezing, schools dismissed for want of coal, no business doing in cold offices, etc., etc.

What is the remedy? "Smash the trusts!" thundera the great American people. While, on the other hand, comes the piping voice of the over-fearful churehman with a home-grown Socialism. But it is not the Socialists who are causing our toes to freeze. It is not the Socialists who are causing our savings accounts by asking two pence for coal—bullying the fuel market by means of strike, so easily preventable that it almost seems designed for the purpose.

Many years ago Jeremy Bentham wrote: "It is not by making the ruling few easy that the oppressed many can obtain

their rights." The ruling few in the world of finance and industry are really the dangerous classes. Their greed and impudence in their control movements of Socialism in the ranks of labor and the moralist goes on preaching to the laborer and condemning his weak methods of organization, of weights and measures adopted by Thomas Aquinas in the Fourteenth century, from an old Greek named Aristotle, is too indiscriminately applied to the new and complex problems of our modern industrial life.

Take it whichever way you will, the laborer is the under dog in the fight. Preach to the bully who has him down, if you preach to anyone.—Cathole Citizen.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

I NEWS OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

How Hayes was Dagged.

The report of the recent International Typographical convention at Cincinnati is not bad, and from it we get the following information relative to the gagging of Delegate Max Hayes of Cleveland. On the first day of this convention Delegate Jeremiah Ryan of Binghamton, N. Y., introduced the following resolution:

Proposition No. 106. Resolved, That our delegates to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor do not work or vote for any proposition which may be introduced which has for its object the placing of the American Federation of Labor on record as advocating Socialism or any other political idealism, and that our delegates stand so instructed. (Referred to committee on resolutions.)

It is determined that ever to win, Socialists every place you turn. Good chances of Charles Quin, secretary of Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, going to Congress on Socialist ticket. His home is in Wilkesbarre. Yours with best wishes, JAMES WILSON, General President, Pattermakers' League of North America.

GENERAL NOTES.

The telegraphers now have a national organization.

The miners of Alabama alone contribute \$44,000 a month to the coal strikers of Pennsylvania.

Mexican cotton pickers are being brought into the South on account of the scarcity of negro labor.

In spite of the fact that the enemy has secured a court order against the posting of pickets by the Union Pacific strikers at Omaha, have put on their two men to watch all streets leading to the yards.

There was a colnshower wagon in the Labor day parade at Denver, and people along the line of march pitched in coin to the amount of \$100 for the benefit of the striking miners.

Some of the cleanest and brightest labor papers are published in the West. Among these are the Colorado Chronicle, the Pacific Courier and the Workers' Gazette.

The Trades and Labor Council of Livingston, Mont., recently adopted a resolution declaratory for Socialism. The fact that only seven votes were cast against the resolution proves conclusively where the representatives of organized labor of the state of Montana actually stand.

The following delegates then asked to be recorded as voting against the resolution: William A. Flinn of Cincinnati, G. A. Steck of Charleston, Thomas M. Salmon of Knoxville, Edmund L. Wolf of Williamsport, George W. Ficks of Seattle, James A. Luvera of Poughkeepsie, W. M. Ellsworth of Omaha, A. E. Thorsen of Topeka, Frederick C. Luehr of Hoboken, Joseph O. Young of New York, Hugo Miller of Indianapolis, E. G. Deno of St. Paul, William K. Cody of Milwaukee, C. W. Carlson of Duluth, James L. Babb of Springfield, Thumas L. Harrison of Sioux Falls, Charles F. Leibrich of Cincinnati, Andrew Henderson of Minneapolis, H. J. Toser of Nashville, S. J. McCullough of Sioux City, David Hastings of Hamilton, E. J. Bracken of Columbus, and Charles S. Walls of New York.

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It is not all right from any point of view, if the incident did no more than emphasize the fact that the son of an official can ride in a special train while the children of the рапубликанцы who live in the railroads and built the cars must toll like slaves ten hours a day for a living. It is all wrong. It is all wrong that any human being can use up the accumulated wealth of the world at the rate of a thousand dollars a day while others, by the ten thousand, can scarcely get enough to eat.—Union Labor News.

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